

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LONDON 20489

LIMDIS

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TAGS: EC, UK, CSCE, XJ, MT, CY, XF, XB, UN, PARM, XM,
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SUBJECT: THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY: EC POLITICAL
COOPERATION WORKING GROUPS - CSCE, AFRICA,
MEDITERRANEAN, MIDDLE EAST, ASIA, UNITED
NATIONS, DISARMAMENT, LATIN AMERICA, LAW OF
THE SEA, EASTERN EUROPE

1. INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. THE FCO HAS BRIEFED US
CONCERNING CURRENT BRITISH VIEWS ON TEN EC POLITICAL
COOPERATION WORKING GROUPS WHICH WILL MEET DURING THE
UK PRESIDENCY. ADDRESSEES WILL APPRECIATE THAT THESE
BRITISH PROJECTIONS ARE TENTATIVE AND OF COURSE
VULNERABLE TO CHANGES OCCASIONED BY INTERNATIONAL
DEVELOPMENTS. WE WOULD ALSO NOTE THAT DESPITE THE
COMPREHENSIVE BRIEFING WE RECEIVED FROM HMG ON ANTICI-
PATED EC WORKING GROUP ACTIVITIES, THERE WAS NO
SUGGESTION FROM THE BRITISH THAT THEY WOULD WELCOME US
FORMAL COMMENTS ON INITIATIVES BEING CONSIDERED BY
COMMUNITY EXPERTS. THE FCO NO DOUBT BELIEVES THAT THE
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FRENCH AND PERHAPS OTHERS ON THE CONTINENT WOULD SQUEAL
IF THE US ATTEMPTED TO ENGAGE THE US-EC DIALOGUE AT A
LEVEL BELOW THE POLITICAL DIRECTORS. NEVERTHELESS, WE
SHALL FIND OUT AS MUCH AS WE CAN ABOUT THESE EXPERTS'
DISCUSSIONS. ANY SUCCESS WE HAVE, WHICH WILL DEPEND
TO SOME DEGREE ON THE PARTICULAR FCO PERSONALITIES

INVOLVED, SHOULD ALLOW WASHINGTON TO ANTICIPATE AT AN EARLIER STAGE THE DIRECTIONS THE COMMUNITY MAY TAKE. FINALLY, WE WOULD REMIND READERS THAT A US PEEK INTO THESE RELATIVELY LOW-LEVEL EC DELIBERATIONS WOULD MARK SOMETHING OF A DEPARTURE AND WILL REQUIRE THAT OUR BRITISH FNDS BE SCRUPULOUSLY PROTECTED.

2. CSCE. THE CSCE WORKING GROUP IS AIMING ITS EFFORTS DURING THE UK PRESIDENCY TOWARD THE MAY NATO MINISTERIAL MEETING IN LONDON. THE BRITISH HOPE THE NINE WILL HAVE REFINED THE MAIN LINES OF ITS TACTICS FOR BELGRADE BEFORE THE NATO MEETING AND EXPECT THE COMMUNITY TO CONTINUE TO TAKE THE LEADING ROLE IN PREPARING FOR THE BELGRADE CONFERENCE. THUS, FREQUENT WORKING GROUP MEETINGS -- APPROXIMATELY EVERY THREE WEEKS FOR TWO DAYS -- WILL BE HELD. BASKETS I AND III WILL BE HANDLED IN LONDON WITH PETER SUMMERSCALE IN THE CHAIR AND BASKET II IN BRUSSELS WITH PATRICK FAIRWEATHER DIRECTING TRAFFIC.

3. BECAUSE THE IRISH SHIFT UNEASILY WHENEVER CBMS ARE MENTIONED, AND BECAUSE THE FRENCH ALSO HAVE RESERVATIONS, THE BRITISH FORESEE LITTLE WORK ON THAT SUBJECT IN THE COMMUNITY CONTEXT. BASKET III WILL BE THE MAJOR AREA OF THE NINE'S CSCE ACTIVITY IN LONDON. EFFORTS WILL CENTER ON FINDING AN ACCEPTABLE PROCEDURE TO EVALUATE IMPLEMENTATION IN BELGRADE. DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY REG HIBBERT IS STRONGLY AGAINST THE NOTION OF AN EAST/WEST FREE-FOR-ALL IN BELGRADE PLENARY SESSIONS. HE ALSO DISMISSES THE IDEA THAT EACH COUNTRY' IMPLEMENTATION PERFORMANCE SHOULD BE ACCORDED EQUAL CONFIDENTIAL

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TIME IN PLENARY. HIBBERT BELIEVES THAT SUB-COMMITTEES SHOULD DO MUCH OF THE WORK IN BELGRADE. THIS WOULD ALSO HELP CONTROL THE SORT OF PUBLICITY WHICH EMANATES FROM THE CONFERENCE.

4. CONCERNING NEW PROPOSALS, THE FRENCH HAVE A STRONG HAND ON THE BRAKE. PARIS DOES NOT WISH THE FINAL ACT TO BE MODIFIED IN ANY WAY, AND NEW PROPOSALS RAISE THIS POSSIBILITY. IN THE BRITISH VIEW, THE FRENCH MAY WELL HAVE THEIR WAY IN STOPPING THE NINE FROM SUGGESTING ANY SERIOUS NEW PROPOSALS.

5. THE FIRST CSCE WORKING GROUP MEETING OF THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY WILL BE HELD IN LONDON IN EARLY JANUARY.

6. AFRICA. SOUTHERN AFRICA WILL BE ONE OF THE MAJOR ACTIVITIES OF THE NINE DURING THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY, NOT LEAST BECAUSE THE AREA WILL BE THE SUBJECT OF MAJOR

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INTERNATIONAL ACTIVITY FOR THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE AND THE STAKES ARE HIGH. ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH, THE NINE HAD DONE LITTLE WORK ON AFRICA BEFORE FEBRUARY OF THIS YEAR. ANGOLA CONCENTRATED THEIR MINDS ON THE AREA AND MADE CLEAR THAT WHAT WAS INVOLVED WAS NOT A SIMPLE CASE OF RECOGNITION BUT FUNDAMENTAL GEO/POLITICAL INTERESTS.

7. THE NINE'S ACTIVITIES AT THE UN HAVE ALSO BROUGHT AFRICA TO THE FORE. THE MEMBER STATES HAVE NO DISAGREEMENTS CONCERNING THE FUNDAMENTAL EC OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA BUT THERE ARE WIDELY DIFFERING ESTIMATES ON HOW THE NINE SHOULD REALIZE THOSE GOALS. THESE TACTICAL DIFFERENCES HAVE RESULTED IN DIFFERING VOTES AT THE UN. THE IRISH WHOSIDE WITH OPPRESSED PEOPLES" AND THE DANES WHOSE "NORDIC LIBERALISM" DATES BACK TO THE EARLY 60S HAVE BEEN PARTICULARLY DIFFICULT.

8. THE BRITISH HAVE A MODEST EXPECTATION THAT THEY MAY BE ABLE TO CLOSE THE GAP BETWEEN THESE TWO, FRANCE AND THE REST OF THE COMMUNITY. HMG BELIEVES THE REASON WHY
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DENMARK AND IRELAND ARE ABLE TO SEE SOUTHERN AFRICA IN SUCH SIMPLISTIC TERMS AND TEND TO KICK THE BALL STRAIGHT THROUGH THE BRITISH GOAL IS THAT THEY ARE BADLY INFORMED AND HAVE NEARLY A ZERO DATA BASE. THE PURPOSE THEREFORE OF THE TWO OR THREE TWO-DAY MEETINGS IN JANUARY TO JUNE OF NEXT YEAR WITH MARTIN REID IN THE CHAIR IS TO GO OVER THE FACTS IN DETAIL WITH THE EIGHT AND TRY TO REACH AGREED EVALUATION ON WHAT IS GOING ON IN THE AREA AND WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE, IF ANY, THE COMMUNITY CAN PLAY. HMG IS AWARE THAT THIS WILL BE A SLOW PROCESS AND ACCEPTS THAT THE FRUITS OF THE EFFORT MAY NOT BE APPARENT UNTIL THE UN SESSION NEXT FALL, BUT THINKS THE EFFORT MUST BE MADE.

9. MEDITERRANEAN. THE FIRST MEETING OF THE MEDITERRANEAN EXPERTS WILL TAKE PLACE IN JANUARY AND PROBABLY PRINCIPALLY CONCERN MALTA. AS ADDRESSEES KNOW, MINTOFF HAS PUT THE HEAT ON THE ITALIANS AND THEY HAVE BEEN PUSHING THE NINE TO ACT. HOWEVER, THE ITALIAN INITIATIVE HAS ENGENDERED LITTLE ENTHUSIASM. THE BRITISH BELIEVE THAT EC POLITICAL COOPERATION DOES NOT HAVE AN IMPORTANT ROLE TO PLAY CONCERNING MALTA'S FUTURE. WESTERN EFFORTS SHOULD BE CONCENTRATED IN NATO AND IN BILATERAL CONTACTS. IN ANY EVENT, ON THE QUESTION OF "WHITHER MALTA" THE UK WILL STAY AT ITS PRESENT POSITION OF MID-REAR IN THE WESTERN PACK.

10. THE NINE'S ACTIVITIES WITH REGARD TO CYPRUS ARE IN A STATE OF ANIMATED SUSPENSION AWAITING THE NEW AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION. THE COMMUNITY HAS YET TO DECIDE WHETHER THE PRINCIPLES SHOULD GO FORWARD OR NOT. WE HAVE BEEN TOLD PRIVATELY THAT SOME IN THE EC WORRY THAT THE NEW US ADMINISTRATION WILL TILT TOWARD GREECE. IF THAT SHOULD HAPPEN THE NINE WOULD PROBABLY TRY TO PLAY A BALANCING ROLE BECAUSE OF ITS BELIEF THAT TURKEY SHOULD NOT BECOME EVEN MORE ALIENATED AND ISOLATED. HOWEVER, CONFIDENTIAL

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SUCH A FUNDAMENTAL POLICY CHOICE BETWEEN ATHENS AND ANKARA WOULD IMMEDIATELY CAUSE A FRENCH/FRG SPLIT AND THE BRITISH CERTAINLY WISH TO AVOID THAT. IN ANY EVENT, HMG IS SUFFICIENTLY INTERESTED IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION'S POLICY TOWARDS GREECE-TURKEY-CYPRUS THAT IT MAY WISH TO SEND A REPRESENTATIVE TO WASHINGTON EARLY IN THE NEW ADMINISTRATION TO EXCHANGE ASSESSMENTS ABOUT WHERE WE STAND AND HOW WE OUGHT TO PROCEED. THIS INFORMATION, OR AT LEAST PART OF IT, WOULD THEN BE FED INTO THE

MEDITERRANEAN WORKING GROUP.

11. MIDDLE EAST. THE EC'S MIDDLE EAST EXPERTS WILL PROBABLY MEET TWICE DURING THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY, ALTHOUGH THERE IS VERY LITTLE ON THEIR AGENDA. THE GROUP'S ACTIVITIES, OF COURSE, ARE A FUNCTION OF EVENTS IN THE AREA OUTSIDE THEIR CONTROL. IF THE GENEVA CONFERENCE BECOMES A LIVE ISSUE AGAIN, OUR FCO CONTACTS SAY THE COMMUNITY WILL BE PUSHED BY THE FRENCH INTO TAKING A POSITION ON THE GENEVA MEETINGS. IN ANY EVENT, THE BRITISH DO NOT INTEND TO UNDERTAKE ANY MIDDLE EAST INITIATIVE.

THERE WILL BE SOME ACTIVITY AMONG THE NINE ON THE EURO/ARAB DIALOGUE. THIS IS THE ONE POLITICAL COOPERATION SUBJECT WHICH WILL NOT BE ADMINISTERED BY THE FCO PRESIDENCY SECRETARIAT. IT WILL BE COORDINATED BY DICK FABER, THE ASSISTANT UNDER SECRETARY WHO IS IN CHARGE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE OF THE EURO/ARAB DIALOGUE.

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12. ASIA. THE EC'S ASIA EXPERTS CONSIDER EVERYTHING EAST OF THE MIDDLE EAST, AND THEIR WORK OVERLAPS FIVE DEPARTMENTS IN THE FOREIGN OFFICE. ACCORDING TO THE BRITISH, THEY HAVE NOT BEEN A SATISFACTORY GROUP. THEY HAVE AUTHORED NO COHERENT PHILOSOPHY CONCERNING EUROPEAN POLICY TOWARD ASIA, NOR HAS THEIR WORK BEEN MORE THAN

SKETCHY IN MOST RESPECTS. THEY HAVE DONE SOME SERIOUS STUDY ON CHINA AND INFLUENCED THE CURRENT GENERAL COMMUNITY POSITION ON TAIWAN WHICH IS TO ACCORD IT A COLD SHOULDER. DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY HUGH CORTAZZI, AN ACTIVIST, IS DETERMINED TO PULL THIS GROUP FROM THE GRAVE. DURING THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY, IT WILL PROBABLY-- UNDER GERMAN STIMULATION--DO A BACKGROUND STUDY ON INDIA. THE BRITISH ARE KEEN TO GET THE FRENCH TO GIVE THE COMMUNITY THEIR ASSESSMENT ON DEVELOPMENTS IN VIETNAM. CORTAZZI IS ALSO PEDDLING THE IDEA OF A PAPER ON AUSTRALASIA AND THE PACIFIC. HIS PURPOSE IS TO CONVINCE THE NINE THEY HAVE INTERESTS THERE. BECAUSE OF YAWNS FROM ITS PARTNERS, THE UK WILL PROBABLY DO THAT STUDY. FINALLY, THERE MAY BE AN ANALYSIS OF THAILAND AND HUMAN RIGHTS, ALTHOUGH THE NINE ARE DIVIDED ON WHAT TO

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DO ABOUT THE PROBLEM.

13. UNITED NATIONS. BECAUSE AUTUMN IN NEW YORK IS THE FOCUS FOR EC COORDINATION CONCERNING THE UN, THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY WILL NOT BE PARTICULARLY ACTIVE ON THIS SUBJECT. THE MISSIONS OF THE NINE IN NEW YORK PRESENT AN ANNUAL REPORT DESCRIBING HOW THE EC MEMBERS VOTED IN THE FALL AND WHY. THE BRITISH ARE TRYING TO PUSH THROUGH THAT REPORT SMARTLY AND HOPE TO HAVE IT IN HAND BY MID-JANUARY. IT WOULD THUS BE DISCUSSED BY POLITICAL DIRECTORS AND MINISTERS AT THE END OF THAT MONTH. IF THE UN EXPERTS MEET IN EARLY JANUARY TO CONSIDER THAT PAPER, THEY WILL PROBABLY CONVENE ONLY ONE OTHER TIME, LATE IN THE SPRING. IT IS ALSO POSSIBLE THAT NEAR THE END OF THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY THE COMMUNITY'S UN AND AFRICAN EXPERTS WOULD HOLD A JOINT MEETING TO DISCUSS STRATEGY ON AFRICAN ISSUES FOR THE 1977 UNGA.

14. DISARMAMENT. AGAIN, THE DISARMAMENT ISSUES TEND TO FIND THEIR PRINCIPAL FOCUS IN THE UN. THUS FAR COORDINATION ON THESE SUBJECTS HAS NOT GOTTEN VERY FAR. THE IRISH AND THE FRENCH HAVE LITTLE STOMACH FOR SUCH JOINT ACTION. THE EXPERTS WILL PROBABLY MEET ONLY ONCE, MIDWAY THROUGH THE BRITISH PRESIDENCY.

15. LATIN AMERICA. THERE WILL BE ONLY ONE MEETING OF THE LATIN AMERICAN EXPERTS. THE INTERESTS OF THE NINE THERE ARE EITHER STRICTLY COMMERCIAL OR INVOLVE HUMAN RIGHTS QUESTIONS. THE NINE HAVE FOUND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO RECONCILE THESE TWO OFT CONFLICTING OBJECTIVES. THE BRITISH WILL HOLD A MEETING OF LATIN AMERICAN EXPERTS ONLY BECAUSE THEY MUST.

16. LAW OF THE SEA. THE COMMUNITY'S LAW OF THE SEA EXPERTS WILL MEET ONCE BEFORE THE UNLOC RESUMES MAY 23.

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17.EASTERN EUROPE. THESE EXPERTS HAVE DONE STUDIES OF PRINCIPALLY ACADEMIC INTEREST. THEIR PAPERS HAVE INCLUDED ANALYSIS OF RECENT EVENTS IN POLAND, THE EUROPEAN COMMUNIST PARTY CONFERENCE, AND AN OUTLINE FOR A STUDY ON SOVIET STRATEGY CONCERNING THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE. DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY REG HIBBERT WOULD LIKE THESE EXPERTS TO EMPHASIZE MORE TOPICAL ISSUES AND THEY PROBABLY WILL BE GIVEN SOME TASK. THEY ARE, HOWEVER, OVERSHADOWED BY THE CSCE EXPERTS, AND NOTHING MUCH IS EXPECTED BY THE UK.
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